

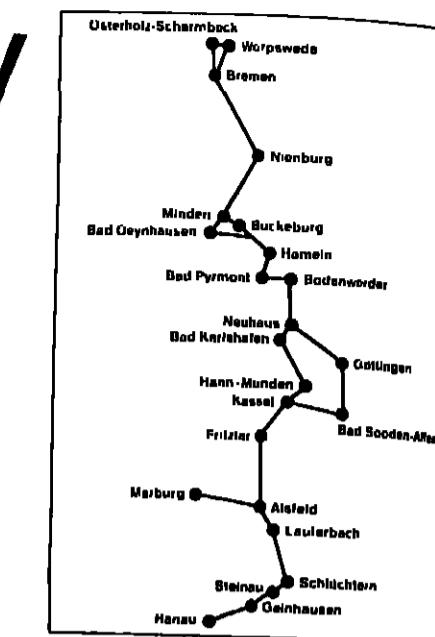
# Routes to tour in Germany

## The German Fairy Tale Route

German roads will get you there — even if nostalgia is your destination. On your next visit why not call to mind those halcyon childhood days when your mother or father told you fairy tales, maybe German ones? The surroundings in which our great fairy tale writers lived or the scenes in which the tales themselves were set will make their meaning even clearer and show you that many are based on a fairly realistic background.

On a tour from Hanau, near Frankfurt, where the Brothers Grimm were born, to Bremen, where the Town Band (consisting of a donkey, a dog, a cat and a cockerel) played such dreadful music that it put even robbers to flight, you will enjoy the varying kinds of countryside. And do stop over at Bodenwerder. That was where Baron Münchhausen told his breathtaking lies.

Visit Germany and let the Fairy Tale Route be your guide.



- 1 Bremen
- 2 Bodenwerder, home of Münchhausen
- 3 Hanau, birthplace of the Brothers Grimm
- 4 Alsfeld

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# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 9 August 1987  
Twenty-sixth year - No. 1285 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C  
ISSN 0016-8858

## The three rules of the game of global chess

*Frankfurter Allgemeine*

power projection comes into its own. Since the 1986 Reykjavik summit the Europeans have been even more keenly aware of the fact.

Forty years ago the North Atlantic pact was formed with strong officers and weak men. Stalin's Russia had tank and artillery units in bulk that were deliberately given nuclear cover.

Research began in 1942, followed in 1949 by the Soviet atomic bomb, in 1953 by the Soviet hydrogen bomb and in 1957 by Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Parity, foreseen in the late 1950s, gave rise after the Berlin and Cuba crises to detente in world affairs.

The Soviet army of pawns did not cease to increase in size, but its supremacy seemed bearable for the West on two (to some extent mutually contradictory) counts:

One was the supremacy of the nuclear knights over the other side's numerous pawns, the other was the certainty that the knights had an assured capacity for mutual destruction, including that of the pawns too.

2

The West never wanted to do more than contain the East Bloc, as was seen in East Berlin in 1953 and in Budapest in 1956. The roll-back theory was mere words and the rhetoric of moral conquest.

The geometry of world affairs, unlike that of the chessboard, is asymmetrical. The Soviet land-based empire faces a naval alliance of countries lining the Atlantic seaboard.

Nato's military tent-pegs are naval units, air force squadrons, forward-stationed troops and, lastly and in the final analysis, nuclear weapons.

On the chessboard of world affairs the nuclear knights command attention and seem to predominate the play by virtue of their speed, precision and destructive potential.

Yet since parity was established between the nuclear knights on each side, they have condemned each other to inactivity. Their war game has been cancelled.

They might almost be felt no longer to really exist, their strategy being mere pantomime. True enough, if the knights really were thrown into battle, their entire empire would be destroyed — which, presumably, is why they are not thrown into the fray.

Yet that still leaves the pawns on the board, particularly in its centre. For the moment their role is to man the watch and sound the alarm.

In the event of an emergency they are also envisaged as giving the knights a pause for thought. But once the knights have immobilised each other by means of the balance of terror the pawns' day may come.

On a chessboard without officers they would decide the outcome of battle, with the prospect of victory for the side that can muster more pawns.

As everyone realises this might happen the outcome can be calculated in advance without a shot being fired and



### Joint missile deal

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (left) and American Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger signing in Washington a deal to make jointly a naval missile, the Rolling Airframe Missile (scale model at rear). (Photo: dpa)

purpose of which is to block Nato's escalation capability in the event of an attack on Western Europe:

"That was why Nato's offer to dispense with land-based longer-range intermediate nuclear forces capable of reaching Soviet territory was of such enormous and exemplary strategic and political importance — and why it prompted Soviet interest, even if only at a late stage, in their elimination."

The double zero solution ends a nuclear commitment in Europe that America has come to regard as a burden. If arms control makes any further headway Bonn may find itself in a dilemma.

It could find itself on its own as a location of short-range nuclear systems, and separated from the West by a fire-screen the existence of which might have far-reaching politico-psychological consequences.

Either that or it might be denuclearised, in which the pawns would be on their own, without cover. Neither option can be in Nato's interest.

In this situation it is important to make sure what the basis of security and deterrence is. Coupling European and US security is not a matter of technical or military means but of US resolve to make Europe's security America's own and of how the Soviet Union views this attitude.

Arms are a symbol and an *ultima ratio*. They are not the substance that holds the Atlantic alliance together. So it would be an exaggeration — and politically unwise — to talk in terms of decoupling.

To do so could prove to be a self-fulfilling prophecy, and the game of chess is not yet over.

The pawns will continue to need the knights for some time. Otherwise the war of pawns would be over before it had even begun.

*Michael Stürmer*

(*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* für Deutschland, 25 July 1987)

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## ■ WORLD AFFAIRS

## Strides or just steps? The Gorbachov era

The West has been confronted with constant change since Mr Gorbachov came to office in Moscow. Views on what the Soviet leader have done vary widely.

Uncritical admirers seeing him as a sort of prince of peace and bringer of salvation. This school of thought argues that sinister figures in the corridors of power in the West are trying to trip him up.

However, other people feel that so far there has been little real change in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachov's initiatives may be no more than words and they must at least be viewed with mistrust. Even if he is serious about reforms, success is not assured.

Gorbachov policies, especially how they are affecting Moscow's allies in Eastern and South-East Europe, were discussed at a meeting of the South-East Europe Association held near Bonn.

The prevailing view was that Mr Gorbachov's reforms are still in their early days and have yet to achieve more than limited tangible results.

Mention was made of greater openness, of improvements in the legal system, of revolutionary economic ideas and of a more realistic foreign policy toward the West.

The Soviet Union clearly wanted reform, change and broad modernisation of the socialist system on a broad basis.

That meant new situations for the West in many sectors. There was no point in classifying developments solely in terms of good or bad; what mattered was to keep a close eye on trends and to maintain the ability to react politically.

In such a large country as the Soviet Union, traditionally governed along authoritarian lines, the wind of change, atmospheric and other imponderables must not be underestimated.

Changes in outlook at the top have always had a striking effect. The political leadership and the intelligentsia, as the backbone of Mr Gorbachov's support, have always counted for more in Russia than elsewhere.

But although it is true that both the machinery of government and the public, whose standard of living has not improved more than slightly, don't like the pains reform brings, both must take their bearings from the reformer, Gorbachov.

Political effect has been achieved less by specific formulas and measures than by creating a climate of opinion in which food for thought was important and thought itself was allowed greater freedom.

Even if Mr Gorbachov were, in the final analysis, to fail in his bid for change, the Soviet Union would still never again be the same as it had been under Brezhnev.

Unlike Nikita Khrushchev, the present Soviet leader was a man who thought in an orderly manner, and his rational initiatives were likely to be more long-lived than Khrushchev's emotions.

As for Eastern and South-East Europe, abstraction from the "specific Gorbachov" was said to be even more far-reaching.

Mr Gorbachov was developing a political effect because, rightly or wrongly, he was felt to stand for something the peoples of Eastern Europe and their intellectuals demanded of their own leaderships.

Mr Gorbachov was said in these countries to advocate more open, more democratic, freer conditions. He had realised that people could not be expected to devote effort or voice approval unless they were offered something, both materially and intellectually, in return.

The theory of "national independence" and "individual circumstances" that used to be advanced in defence of reform tendencies against Soviet hegemony in East and South-East Europe is now said to be wielded as an argument by East European leaders who insist on dogmatic positions and oppose reforms.

Some leaderships are felt to face two-fold pressure, domestic and external, with the ball in their court.

Individual groups among the leadership, in Czechoslovakia for instance, are well aware that they stand to derive political benefit from identifying themselves with Mr Gorbachov.

Romania under Mr Ceausescu is way out on a limb, having become equally unattractive as a partner for both East and West.

Mr Gorbachov, the conference was told, had taken great care during his visit to Bucharest to respect Romania's national independence. But he was looking beyond Mr Ceausescu and his dynasty.

Poland probably sees Mr Gorbachov's ideas as a major impetus, while Bulgaria seems to be following them

## Frankfurter Allgemeine

too, with substantial amendments of its own.

In Czechoslovakia and East Germany it would seem uncertain whether Mr Gorbachov's reform moves extend to politics or not. Mere economic reforms are probably favoured everywhere but in Rumania. But political reforms and democratisation seem unwelcome.

If that continues to be the case, a number of East Bloc leaderships might run into difficulties even though Mr Gorbachov may not want them to do so.

Hungary, which has so far led the reform field in the East Bloc, has had to bear the brunt of widespread criticism.

Hungarian reforms are now accepted, less because Mr Gorbachov himself would like to emulate them than because they are in keeping with the quest for new approaches and answers the Soviet leader feels ought in future to be the yardstick of communist activity.

Does that mean Hungary will cease to be a special case? The answer in Budapest appears to be that after carrying out its programme of economic reforms Hungary now faces the problem of political democratisation.

At the same time economic reforms must be implemented more thoroughly and in a more root-and-branch manner, given the serious difficulties they face. So many Hungarians feel their country can keep up its pioneering role.

The conference also dealt with whether Mr Gorbachov's striving for "modernisation" of the communist empire and for even closer cooperation might not hamper East Bloc countries

Continued on page 13

## Syria returns to diplomatic favour with the West

The official Syrian party newspaper, *Al Bauth*, says the country again has diplomatic links with the West because accusations that it was actively involved in terrorism were untrue.

The Americans, who have re-established diplomatic links, see it differently. They say Syria has changed its attitude toward terrorism — for example, it has closed the Damascus office of the notorious terrorist, Abu Nidal.

Whichever view is more accurate, the fact remains that President Reagan sent his UN ambassador, Vernon Walters, to Damascus and that Bonn and Damascus have exchanged ambassadors again.

Relations between Syria and the West reached a low point last autumn when America, Britain and the West German government accused the Syrian secret service of taking part in several terrorist attacks.

There can be little doubt that the Syrian leader has steadily regained ground of late after having been left in a political limbo when his country was accused of being actively associated with terrorism.

President Assad's commitments in Lebanon clearly impose a heavy burden on Syria, although they have brought political benefits.

Western governments have since come to realise that no political progress in the Middle East is possible without Syria. A Middle East conference to be held in Santiago on 23 July in order to, as the CDU press office announced, "support human rights and democracy", knew nothing about the cabinet arrangements.

Although other federal ministers before Blüm, for example Hans Matthöfer (SPD), referred to the dictators who have ruled in Chile for fourteen years as a "bunch of murderers" none have caused such a stir.

The issue has caused a dispute within the coalition. All 15 applicants, two of them women, belong to the banned Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) which has taken up arms against the Pinochet regime.

The 15 stand accused of having taken part in armed holdups, bomb attacks and murders and have been in custody for between four and seven years.

In other years, top-ranking Bonn politicians have managed to steer clear of this kind of publicity. Today's controversies and their protagonists are of a different calibre.

The sharp criticism levelled by the CSU "troika" of Franz Josef Strauss, Edmund Stoiber and Gerold Tandler, at the CDU leadership and the FDP shows this clearly enough.

The dispute over disarmament, Deutschlands politik, tax cuts, subsidies for farmers and hundreds of other branches of industry, demonstration laws, the problem of foreigners etc. have all revealed that many leading figures in the Bonn coalition are permanently getting on each other's nerves.

Apart from the usual party-political infighting structural differences in the concept of the coalition and with regard to voter potential are major reasons for the rift.

Chancellor Kohl's call for greater discipline is of very little if any use.

The next step is to find a country willing to grant asylum to the persons in question.

Several Western European countries, including Belgium, France and Austria, have, following inquiries by the relatives of the 15 Chileans, announced that they would be willing to grant asylum.

The West German *Länder* Bremen, Hamburg and Saarland (all led by SPD governments) as well as Hesse and Lower Saxony (CDU-led) would afford refuge to the Chileans to save their lives.

Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU), however, has misgivings about whether such a move is justifiable from a security point of view.

Unmoved by his awareness of the existence of torture in Chilean prisons, Zimmermann announced that "existing security reservations must be weighed up against humanitarian aspects".

During two cabinet meetings on 24 June and 23 July the Bonn government was forced to discuss this problem after Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher

## ■ HOME AFFAIRS

## Minister causes row with Chilean torture comment

Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm has caused a furore by telling Chilean dictator Pinochet to his face in Santiago that the Chilean government tortures its political opponents. Blüm was on an official visit. He received support from his Christian Democrat colleagues back in Germany, but criticism from the Bavarian wing of the party, the Christian Social Union. The minister, who has connections with Amnesty International, was among other things gathering information in Chile about 15 Chileans facing terrorist charges who want political asylum in West Germany. He is cutting short his trip to South America to attend a meeting of the Bundestag foreign affairs committee called to discuss the Chile affair.

Chancellor Kohl was unable to settle the dispute and called upon his cabinet ministers to wait until the final verdicts have been returned in Chile before taking a decision.

Kohl then urged his ministers to demonstrate "unity and solidarity", tidied up his desk and went on holiday in Austria. These interviews ensured that Blüm's unambiguous remarks ("There are no diplomatic considerations, no fair-weathering, only contempt and abhorrence") were given full coverage by the media.

It can be taken for granted that Blüm also knew that he would annoy Interior Minister Zimmermann as well as CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss.

Strauss reacted promptly: "This is not the embarrassing action of some ignorant tourist who has lost his way in the field of foreign policy, but a federal minister and member of the CDU who has stabbed the Interior Minister of his own government in the back".

Zimmermann in the meantime announced that he would ring up Blüm in Chile and ask him "whether he took the opportunity to talk to the relatives of the victims, the bank employees and car-

park attendants who were shot dead, and not just to the relatives of the terrorists".

"I shall ask him," he continued, "whether he has spoken to the widows and orphans of those who were murdered and were victims of the bomb attacks, and what they think about the situation and justice in Chile".

This statement reveals the background to the coalition dispute: the FDP and large part of the CDU support the granting of asylum to the tortured Chileans threatened by the death sentence. whereas the CSU emphasises the security risks of allowing terrorists to enter the country.

The crimes committed by the military junta and the death squads they cover up is a secondary aspect for the CSU.

Zimmermann did not make his announced phone call and will now have to wait until Blüm, whose visit to Chile will be followed by an adventure holiday in Brazil, returns to Bonn in mid-August.

Heiner Geissler, however, managed to track down his party colleague in the Peruvian capital Lima and talk to him on the phone.

The CDU general secretary, who wants to take up the problem of "human rights", publicly gave Blüm his full support — in the name of Chancellor Kohl too — and was equally outspoken in his views about the military rule of Strauss friend Pinochet.

"They are fascists, whose only criticism of the German Nazis is the fact that Hitler lost the war."

Helmut Löhrer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 July 1987)

can no longer be restored in its previous form.

Together with personal envy this is the most deeply-rooted reason for the dislike of the FDP.

Should this party of freethinkers and mobility be allowed to determine coalition policy guidelines?

The Bavarian CSU leaders cannot accept this fact.

On the other hand, we find the more open-minded CDU politicians and the FDP.

Their analyses (by Geissler, Blüm, Schäuble, Süßmuth and Biedenkopf) differ substantially from those of the CSU.

In the FDP, which still has its traditional spectrum (between leftist-liberal and right-wing-liberal), there appears to be a more stable congruence with new sections of the electorate.

Genscher, with his wealth of experience and intellectual capacity, has excellent party colleagues.

Both the CDU and the FDP are aware of the rapidly changing structures in the Federal Republic of Germany, in East-West relations and in Europe.

The sights of party strategists are set on the segments of the electorate which will make or break the elections of tomorrow: the new middle class, the blue-collar careerists, the senior-ranking employees, the technical intelligentsia, and, last but not least, the better qualified workers.

Polices are planned for women, but no changes planned to the abortion laws...

According to CSU all this is making more and more conservative voters refrain from voting.

He knows, however, that there is no alternative to the CDU/CSU/FDP coalition, and to his own person, for some time to come.

These voters, the CSU claims, must be given a new motivation by creating a distinct party image and via subsidies.

The CSU analysts apparently ignore the fact that completely different motives exist among non-voters, namely frustration at the loss of power by political parties and their empty promises.

It is hoped that more money and stricter laws will restore the world of values which

(Helmut Löhrer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 July 1987)

## The German Tribune

Friedrich Rennert Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartenstraße, D-2000 Hamburg 78, Tel. 030/14733.

Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz, Alexander Anthony, English language Sub-editor: Simon Burnett — Distribution Manager: Georgine Picone

Advertising rates list No. 15

Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CIVI Nameyer-Druck, Hameln.

Distributed in the USA by MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 25th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by arrangement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

## ■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

## Jenninger, the nation's political Third Man, doesn't stand on ceremony

The Speaker of the Bundestag, Philipp Jenninger, is a vastly different figure from his predecessor, Rainer Barzel.

Jenninger is refreshingly natural. He doesn't assume airs and graces. But if he lacks Barzel's notorious unctuousness, it is equally true that he lacks Barzel's intellectual bite.

Barzel, who resigned in 1984 following allegations of receiving illegal payments, often bore his parliamentary status as if it were some kind of monstrosity.

Jenninger says he did not try to become the Speaker but now, having got there, he "welcomes it wholeheartedly".

Parliamentarians from all the political parties represented in the Bundestag are by and large satisfied with him.

Jenninger is a lawyer who had a successful career in the civil service and then made an impressive entry into the world of politics.

The job of Speaker was, so to speak, handed to him on a plate. It was above all as a result of his close ties with Helmut Kohl.

The fact that Jenninger previously worked for Franz Josef Strauss and was appointed parliamentary secretary by former Bonn President Karl Carstens broadened the horizon of his political activities for the CDU and CSU at an early stage.

The decisive political figure in his

### SONNTAGSBLATT

life, however, apart from the man Jenninger often refers to himself, Heinrich Krone, was Helmut Kohl.

Yet he was not in the executive long enough to establish roots there.

He was still a parliamentarian through and through, a fact which was not merely due to the thorough knowledge of the standing orders of the Bundestag acquired during his period as parliamentary secretary.

Nevertheless, he has remained Kohl's close friend, and they both travel to Austria during their Easter holidays to lose a bit of weight.

Jenninger is aware of the fact that his close relationship with Kohl is not entirely without problems.

The Speaker's task is a difficult one, since despite the fact that he is the third most important politician in the Federal Republic of Germany in terms of protocol (following the federal president and the president of the *Bundestag*) he also admitted his "friendly relationship" to Kohl.

He pointed out that he has also reprimanded Kohl in the Bundestag for his all too ready usage of the word "hypocrite".

The declaration of practised impartiality was totally unnecessary, since this should be taken for granted.

The attempt to publicly tone down the intensity of his friendship with Kohl is rooted in the fact that Kohl singled him out for the job of Bundestag Speaker after Rainer Barzel was obliged to re-

sign on 26 October, 1984. Jenninger never thought this possible. What is more, he would like to have remained minister of state responsible for *Deutschlandpolitik* in the Federal Chancellery — a close adviser to Chancellor Kohl.

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Reluctant to be a star... Philipp Jenninger.

(Photo: Poly-Press)

been no regeneration of the parliamentary civil servants any less lamentable.

On the other hand, Jenninger does show a strong interest in what is generally termed parliamentary reform.

He is extremely concerned about the fact that the *Bundestag's* reputation is not what it should be.

He constantly tells his fellow parliamentarians to do less to promote their own personal image and more to promote that of the *Bundestag* as a constitutional organ.

These are more than pleasant-sounding words.

The reserved Swabian Jenninger is not a readily outgoing personality and dislikes attempts to "sell" him as a political star.

Such abstinence is reflected in the fact that Jenninger is one of the political experts in this controversial policy field.

As regards *Bundestag* matters Jenninger is worried about the parliament's future.

Will the *Bundestag* develop into a working parliament which, as it has done so far, deals with the minute details of political issues and discusses draft bills which are basically no more than a "notarial execution of the proposals of the executive"?

Or is there a trend towards a discussion forum?

Jenninger is convinced that the *Bundestag* cannot assume both functions at once.

The idea of a discussion forum, which does away with long-winded speeches, lets the detailed legislative work be carried out in special committees and concentrates on committed debate of fundamental political issues, does have its appeal.

The decision to build the *Bundestag's* new plenary hall as a round-shaped building would undoubtedly be good for such a forum.

Jenninger was particularly involved in this question.

He seemed unable to accept the feeling that the *Bundestag* could make itself seem ridiculous via its stickleness on this issue.

He did not shy away from a conflict with Deputy Speaker Richard Stücklen and assumed personal responsibility for the construction question.

Professor Wagner mentioned abortion, artificial insemination and AIDS as examples of issues where important information was not published even in leading and highly respected newspapers.

Scientific knowledge about stages of an embryo's development or serious mental anguish by women who had abortions was brushed aside.

Euphemisms were used, such as termination of pregnancy rather than abortion, artificial insemination rather than

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(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 August 1987)

## ■ PERSPECTIVE

## German, American journalists discuss why the twain doesn't meet

**A**n American journalist says that if newspapers are to survive, they must stay economically sound. This could only be achieved by being first with the news.

The journalist was addressing a meeting of American and German journalists in Deidesheim, between Ludwigshafen and Kaiserslautern.

He said that this meant there was no room for sentiment: first with the news meant first with the hard news.

He said that in Germany, the idea of ethics was often quoted. But he suggested that in practice, this noble quality was often ignored.

He asked if German journalism could be judged by the standards it set itself. Was it, he asked, better, more exact, more independent and more honest than American journalism?

He spoke in a hushed silence not so much because of the words he used but because of how he spoke.

He was speaking at the third Gutenberg Meeting. These meetings are designed to examine the Press on both sides of the Atlantic and to ask why journalists cannot find common yardsticks to work to.

They seek at least to establish how differences arise in newsgathering methods and how information is perceived and processed.

The first meeting was held in Deidesheim three years ago, the second last year in Boston. This year journalists from both sides of the Atlantic met in Deidesheim again.

In both countries, the United States

In 1979 US journalists were amazed to hear, at the Berlin radio show, German politicians outlining details of the first cable TV pilot projects involving commercial operators.

"Do you mean to say there have been no commercial operators in the past?" they said. "Then your radio and TV are state-run."

"No, they aren't," they were told. "They are self-governing corporations." — But politicians are members of their governing bodies!"

Thomas Wheeler, president of the US National Cable Television Association, agreed with Claus Detjen, head of new media at the German Newspaper Proprietors Association, to hold talks.

Experiences were regularly to be exchanged, views outlined, differences of opinion spotlighted and consideration given to what, other than the Atlantic, separates America from Germany.

The name chosen for these discussions, the Gutenberg Meeting, built a linguistic bridge inasmuch as it is identical in English and German.

It also established a link between the printer's art of old and the new electronic media.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s newspaper men in large numbers flew from Frankfurt to New York, Washington, Philadelphia and Los Angeles to see new radio and TV technologies in action.

They also took a closer look at revolutionary new newspaper production techniques and sought advice in the United States, where microelectronics was

most advanced in practical application. These fact-finding tours forged close personal links between publishers, journalists and politicians: they were unable to eliminate serious differences of opinion.

In return, US executives began to show keener interest in Germany. Europe rates at best a single mention in US newspapers, and then maybe on page 17.

But oddly enough a growing number of Americans have lately become more aware of the Old World even though this reawakening interest may not yet be reflected on the printed page.

Last year's Gutenberg Meeting was held at the Castle, a historic Boston University building on the banks of the Charles River.

The debate on media portrayal of Germany in America and vice-versa reached its height when a US journalist contrasted ethics and economics in connection with the fact that US Press coverage of Europe was negligible whereas European coverage of America was disproportionately extensive — and usually negative.

Economic considerations, he felt, were so self-evident that mistrust was unwarranted. He failed to see how the self-regulatory potential of an economic process could possibly be viewed with scepticism in the Federal Republic.

Ethics and journalism, in contrast, was a topic for discussion by people whose knowledge of journalism was derived from books rather than from practice.

On this point many German journalists would probably agree.

This year's main topic of the Deidesheim debate was the legal and technical obstructions that beset satellite communications.

**Ulrich Schulte**  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 24 June 1987)

France the Catholic Church has nowhere near as much cash as its German counterpart; German Catholics pay a church tax that is levied as a percentage of income tax and deducted at source.

But that doesn't make the French Church any the poorer in spirituality. God leads a different life in France, and much can be learnt from one's neighbour in respect of one's own beliefs.

That applies in equal measure to the sector the French have come to label as German "neuro-nationalism." This point was illustrated in a short but striking interview with Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

M. Giscard, a European-minded politician who was French head of state from 1974 to 1981, has now returned to "local" politics as chairman of the Auvergne regional council.

If German reunification on the basis of neutrality were to gain ground as a political objective, the life's work of a Konrad Adenauer — and a Giscard d'Estaing — would be destroyed, French speakers made it clear.

Germans in particular can learn from such international gatherings what it is to refer to Europe yet to mean *Heimat*, or one's own country.

They were well able to do so in Clermont-Ferrand, capital of the Auvergne, which has a city-centre square dominated by an equestrian statue of Vercingetorix, who defended Gaul against Caesar.

**Hermann Boettner**  
(Das Parlament, Bonn, 18 July 1987)

## ■ FINANCE

## Queues get longer in bid for Japanese investment

**RHEINISCHER MERKUR**

**G**erman industrial development executives think they have struck a rich seam in potential Japanese investors.

Development officials all over the country are rushing to persuade Japanese firms to invest — and give problem areas a boost.

Incentives include low-cost factory sites, subsidies totalling up to 40 per cent of the sum invested and generous housing arrangements for executives and their families.

In the Rhine and Ruhr regions, hard hit by coal and steel crises, over 10,000 Germans are already on the payroll of Japanese companies.

In the past, Japanese trading firms have mainly established bridgeheads in Germany, but there is now a growing tendency among Japanese companies to set up production facilities of their own in Germany.

At the Düsseldorf office of Arthur Anderson & Co., the accountants and management consultants, over 40 Japanese clients have already logged over 14,000 hours of consultation fees this year.

Gerd Fröhlich, in charge of Japanese industrial development agency in Düsseldorf, is keen to step up the pace and lead the field.

Consultants have even been commissioned to persuade Asian investors to relocate within the Federal Republic.

A few months ago Herr Fröhlich's agency persuaded Mitsubishi Hartmetall GmbH to move from Waiblingen, near Stuttgart, to the outskirts of Düsseldorf.

Poachers also report success in Hamburg, where Dainippon Screen Deutschland GmbH are to transfer their marketing head office to Düsseldorf later this year.

So there is no shortage of spectacular success stories in creating new jobs with Japanese assistance in North Rhine-Westphalia.

By 1990 Toshiba Consumer Products (Germany) GmbH are expected to employ about 800 German staff at their newly-opened Mönchengladbach assembly plant.

Hundreds of thousands of video cassette recorders, colour TV sets and hi-fi systems destined for European markets are to roll off the plant's highly-automated assembly lines.

Fuji Magnetic GmbH, to take another example, are to spend a handsome DM100m converting an empty German factory in Kleve into a videotape production facility, creating an estimated 200 new jobs.

Develop Dr. Eisbein GmbH & Co., a small German photocopier manufacturer, is yet another example of what a godsend financial inputs from the Far East can be.

Last year Minolta Camera, of Ahrensburg, near Hamburg, bought a 75-per-cent stake in the company, which was arguably on its last legs.

Minolta has since replenished it with technical know-how and orders to keep

the plant running and safeguard the company's 350 jobs.

This tale, taken from Baden-Württemberg in the south-west, is one that will hopefully set an example. Economic development officials in Baden-Württemberg untruly stress how smooth and successful the operation has been, speculating that the Japanese might consider taking over other shaky firms.

This hope is not unfounded. Last year Japanese direct investment in the Federal Republic reached a record DM1.3bn that seems sure to be well exceeded this year and in the years ahead. "Our capital investment in Germany and Europe is going to increase enormously," says a senior official of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry in the Federal Republic.

Baden-Württemberg plans to set up in a Japanese industrial park to pave the way for smaller, high-tech firms from the Far East.

It will include a Japanese restaurant and a Japanese school as special incentives.

That forces other Länder, especially North Rhine-Westphalia, not to fall behind.

Nine permanent representative offices of German Länder in Japan are constantly on the lookout for potential investors to give regional development a shot in the arm.

The Japanese skillfully play one off possible terms.

North Rhine-Westphalia already has a well-developed Japanese infrastructure and generous subsidies. Baden-Württemberg has to think of something else to offer.

Industrial development areas are few and far between in the south-west, so Baden-Württemberg sells its high tech and impressive economic potential for all it is worth.

When he tours Japan Herr Herzog has no qualms about taking executives of Japanese companies in Baden-Württemberg, such as Sony and Citizen, with him.

They outline everything in bright colours. Germans work hard and well, and Swabian food — especially *Spätzle*, or noodles — is excellent!

August Räubinger  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,  
Bonn, 14 July 1987)

## Listen, me old China, I know just where to put your money

German banks are taking a big interest in China. Four leading bank were represented in Chancellor Kohl's trade delegation there last month.

One reason is that China is slowly emerging as a highly rated sovereign debtor. Another is that the pace of economic relations have been slowing and a special effort is needed to spur it on a bit.

The chief executive of Dresdner Bank, Wolfgang Röller, who was in the party, says China is a treble-A credit risk — with no reservations.

Martin Kohlhäusser, Commerzbank director in charge of Asian business and another member of Chancellor Kohl's

party, said China was a first-rate address in financial business and a country with fine business potential.

Yet no one knows how deep in debt China's economic reformers are. Depending on the estimated level of Chinese gold reserves, the total varies on either side of \$20bn.

All that can be said for sure is that much of the loans given have been low-interest capital aid, one of the main means by which the Japanese have gained their ascendancy in Asia.

The Chinese are also known to be adept at playing off international competitors and able to negotiate fair

Continued on page 8

## German firm in deal with Soviet toolmaker

**Bremer Nachrichten**

**T**he first commercial Soviet-German joint venture has been set up. The firms are Heinemann, a mechanical engineering and plant construction company in St Georgen in the Black Forest, and the Ordzhonikidze Machine Tool Works in Moscow.

(There have been other joint deals, but they have been one-off ventures such as gas pipeline projects.)

The Soviet firm's managing director, Chikiryov, is quoted as taking a high political view of the venture, which is called Homatek. He says it will help his company to implement the party's call for better product quality.

Homatek, with a projected payoff of 500 in the Soviet Union and 100 in the Black Forest, plans to market machine tools — turning centres and transfer lines — mainly in third countries for convertible currency.

Managing director Reiner Lang of Heinemann says one third of production is to be exported and the remainder used to fit out Soviet factories.

Joint ventures with Soviet companies have been promoted by politicians but only reluctantly accepted by Western industry for lack of detailed arrangements and guarantees.

The Soviet partner in the venture may hold a majority shareholding. Herr Lang, who is experienced in trade with the East, seems unperturbed on this point.

His input into the joint venture consists, according to the *Pravda* report, of cash, automatic project equipment, calculators, copiers and the know-how of his newly-developed Heidi machine tool range.

Ordzhonikidze is providing a 25,000-square-metre (nearly seven-acre) site for rent at its Moscow works, plus buildings, housing and other equipment. The Soviet parent company is also investing an unspecified sum in cash.

The parent companies differ considerably in size. Heinemann GmbH is the successor to an *Aktiengesellschaft*, a public company, where Herr Lang, now 47, was appointed general manager by the receiver in 1980.

Under his management the company has risen like a phoenix from the ashes. He bought the firm for DM16m and nursed it back into the black. Last year its staff of 180 totalled DM60m in turnover.

Herr Lang has long catered for the Soviet market and evidently been well satisfied with cooperation arrangements.

Ordzhonikidze, named after a Georgian revolutionary and contemporary of Stalin's, was set up in 1929 in accordance with a Party conference decision and is one of the largest mechanical engineering groups in the Soviet Union.

Chikiryov told *Pravda* he feels the venture will make profits soon, and that they will increase.

Other sources state that in five years' time Homatek hopes to be manufacturing 160 machine tools a year.

Hans-Joachim Deckert  
(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 July 1987)

## ■ BANKING

## A financial giant is forced to broaden its horizons



The king-maker... Alfred Herrhausen with bank logo. (Photo: J.H. Dorchinger)

It should have a career in industry at all. It was not included in his career plans for Herrhausen does not place much value on such plans. He believes that in the main things turn out differently to the way one thinks they will.

He gives considerable emphasis to working systematically and in a planned manner. He also welcomes plenty of work.

Herrhausen was born in Essen in 1930. During the war he attended a state school. Early on he showed a bent for philosophy — the influence of a Catholic priest gave him a taste for speculation about existence and obligation.

He would have liked to have studied philosophy in Cologne, but after the war there was no place for him. He had to be content with being able to study economics there.

He must have been very industrious. By 22 he had a degree in commerce, of the "Cologne School," which at the time had a considerable reputation in West Germany. On the side he did a doctorate under Professor Theodor Wessels.

The foundations for his career were laid. After a short interlude with Ruhrherr, Herrhausen found a job with Vereinigte Elektrizitätswerke (VEW) in Dortmund. He had his first taste of banking during a year he spent in New York.

However, he had nothing to do with the partial privatisation of VEW. He was then lucky his industry and abilities got him on the VEW board of management at the age of 37.

Obviously not entirely fulfilled with the job he introduced budding trade union officials into industry's secrets at the Dortmund Social Affairs Academy.

Herrhausen then came to the attention of Friedrich Wilhelm Christians of the Deutsche Bank, then a member of the VEW supervisory board. Christians lured him from VEW to the Deutsche Bank, where he was with extraordinary speed appointed to be a member of the board of management.

Christians had obviously made a wise choice. Herrhausen had to jump in at the deep end. Two companies in which Deutsche Bank were involved, the Stollwerck chocolate manufacturers in Cologne and the Continental Gummi-Werke in Hanover, were in serious trouble.

Herrhausen's influence was discernible in the main section of the Deutsche Bank's 1986 annual report. It was disputed that the banks were powerful and could not be controlled.

The passage read: "It cannot be ascertained that the banks have a too great influence and potential for moulding events. The power structure in our democratic society is not out of balance by the banks. Critics have not produced

that alone did not alter the fact that the major banks, through the concentration of their hands of mandates on supervisory boards, had access to a wealth of information and contacts that were worth a lot of money.

According to the Association of German giro and savings banks this concentration can bring about a conflict of interests and to a distortion of competitive positions.

These banks have a major market share in the issuance of new shares which, because they manage consortia, are sold to their own customers.

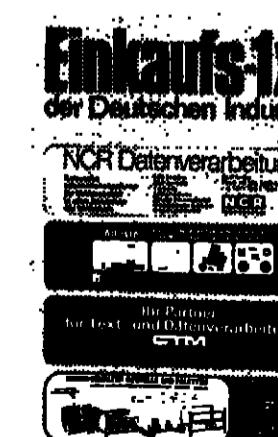
This again increases the volume of their proxy voting rights.

Should this go to the Monopolies Commission the banks would have to reduce their participation in non-banking companies to five per cent.

To give some idea of what this involves: the Deutsche Bank has a participation

Continued on page 8

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## ■ COMMODITIES

## Radicchios and raspberries at the crack of dawn

**DIE WELT**  
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGEZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

**M**ore than a million tons of fruit and vegetables, valued at DM1.5bn, were handled in Munich's Central Market last year.

This was 14 per cent up on the previous year's figure, despite Chernobyl.

Everything that is cultivated in hot-houses all over the world finds its way to "the belly of Munich," the largest German fruit and vegetable market, in Europe second in size to Paris.

The Central Market has just celebrated its 75th anniversary.

Radicchio from Italy, a type of red lettuce, is piled up by peaches from Greece. Behind them are a few hundredweight of tomatoes from Holland, a little pale but firm and round. To the right there are violet aubergines.

It is Monday morning in Shed 4 of Munich's Central Market. There is traffic chaos, but no announcement of it is given in the traffic news on the radio.

Eventually the chaos is disentangled and the peaches make way for the red lettuces and the bright tomatoes.

Most of the trucks loaded with these fruits and vegetables have come from Italy and Greece. A few hours after calling at Munich the trucks roll on to Rotterdam or Frankfurt, Hanover or Hamburg or even London.

One dealer said that the whole of Europe buys fruit and vegetables in Munich, including the good citizens of Munich itself, of course.

The city is still sleeping on this Monday morning. Despite the short summer night it will be a few hours before the sun rises behind the famous towers of Munich's Frauenkirche.

The sheds in Munich's Central Market are already wide awake. Helmut Pfundstein, boss of the market, said: "By half past four, when the gateways open, all hell is let loose."

Juicy strawberries, stacked high in pallets, give off a sweet aroma that balances the pungent smell of radishes.

There are chanterelles, wickedly expensive from Poland, paprika from Hungary, the first raspberries from Italy and cauliflower from Holland. It all smells fresh and healthy.

The visitor breathes in deeply and for a moment cannot understand what is going on that is so irritating. There is no

diesel smell in the shed where fruit and vegetables are mechanically weighed.

Pfundstein said: "A couple of years ago Shed 4 was full of diesel fumes from the trucks."

Trucks would still be driven into the sheds if Munich's SPD mayor Georg Kronawitter, during his first period in office, had not had a hand of his secretary by the name of Pfundstein.

Pfundstein performed the same duties under the CSU mayor Erich Kiesl, that rankled with Kronawitter.

But before Kronawitter again took over Munich's Town Hall three years ago, Pfundstein moved over quickly to vegetables. He had learned all about knuckling down to work in the mayor's office in the Town Hall.

He dared to do the strong-man act which none of his predecessors had dared and pushed through regulations, against considerable opposition, ruling that only electrically-powered forklift trucks with green number plates could be used in the market sheds.

The only exceptions were a few brand-new diesel forklifts, but they can only be used for a very limited period and this is marked on their yellow number plates.

There were only 1,300 cars in Munich 75 years ago when, on a spring morning, the city's new fruit and vegetable market was opened with cheers for the Prince-regent, Luitpold.

The legacy of this was that most of the transportation used in the market was ecologically non-polluting. There was horse dung here and there, lying next to rosy red apples.

There had been a lot of tough fighting before the opening of the market 75 years ago. In 1883 Berlin had begun building a fruit and vegetable market. Munich, then a royal capital, did not want to take second place, but the battle over a suitable site and the basic question of whether such a market was necessary lasted over ten years.

A popular argument of the time said that radishes and cabbages could be un-



A leaf from the cabbages of the past... Munich's Central Market in 1920s.

(Photo: Claus Haag)

loded from horse-drawn wagons into the Schrannenhalle that then stood directly next to the Viktualienmarkt in the centre of the city.

The Schrannenhalle were pulled down a long time ago, but the present Central Market is doing very well which can only be said of a few communal operations.

A profit of DM300,000 has been shown. Now pessimists seem to have been proven right. Four connecting sheds have been built south-west of the city at a cost of DM6.8m, but in the first year of operations a loss of DM160,000 was recorded.

Money is today no longer a problem. The city has allocated to Helmut Pfundstein DM50m so that the former area of 37,000 square metres, that has now been extended to 31 hectares, can be renovated and improved.

It is another matter that is causing problems. Just like Munich's famous Theresienwiese, location of the October Beer Festival, that used to be some distance from the city itself, the Central Market has been engulfed by houses as the city has spread.

Many citizens living near the Central Market complain that their sleep is disturbed by the 6,000 trucks and trailers that make their way to it, many before dawn.

In the 1950s two out of every five kilo-

Continued from page 6

vourable credit terms. What delights

lenders need not thrill investors or ex-

porters. As debts have increased, Pek-

ing has scrapped investment projects

and axed imports for lack of foreign ex-

change.

China has good reason to slam on the anchors on trade with Germany. Last year and the year before, Peking im-

ported German goods worth DM3.9bn

and DM3.5bn more than its exports to

the Federal Republic.

The gap is narrowing in 1987, but only slowly. Planners in Peking are also unhappy at the low German level of for-

ign investment in China, including a

mere 19 out of 3,000 joint ventures.

German banks mainly have progress in trade and industrial projects in mind, since they serve German customers who do business with China.

Commerzbank was the first of the Federal Republic's "Big Three" to pro-

vide correspondent services back in 1951, a mere two years after Mao Tse-

tung had come to power.

Herr Kohlhausen says his bank ac-

counts for well over 20 per cent of Ger-

man trade with China. Dresdner Bank

cat at the *Gaststätte am Großmarkt* very well. It opens at seven in the evening and is said to serve the best white sausages in the city.

Many a Munich restaurateur buys in the Central Market. Restaurants close to the central market have another advantage as well. The Munich abattoir is close by.

Peter Schmalz

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 July 1987)

## Deutsche Bank

Continued from page 7

part in 15 non-banking operations with an equity share of 25 per cent or more, in Daimler-Benz a good 28 per cent, in Holzmann about 35 per cent, in Karstadt about 25 per cent and indirectly in Hirschreuther more than 25 per cent.

It is certainly not false to assume that nothing will come of the Monopolies Commission's proposals. Alfred Herrhausen is a friend and close adviser of Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

**Paul Bellinghausen**  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 July 1987)

sees itself as the No. 2 in trade with China, with a joint leasing subsidiary, Cale.

When China opened up to the West it also invited leading German banks to set up representative offices in Peking. Deutsche Bank was the first to do so, in 1981.

There is a continuous stream of trans-

porters from gourmet restaurants at

the market for fruit and vegetables.

Eckart Witzigmann, the "three-star general" from the aubergine cuisine, buys from Pfundstein's market. More accurately put he buys through his stand in the Viktualienmarkt. He puts in his orders for vegetables the day before.

This has two major advantages for the most famous of West Germany's cooks. He can stay in bed longer in the morning and water the mouths of his customers by saying that he buys from the Viktualienmarkt, which sounds that much better than saying that he gets his kiwi fruit from the Central Market.

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While the Bank of China looks after foreign business, the People's Bank of China has been raised to central bank status, with a woman governor.

Nine special banks have been estab-

lished or revitalised. Chinese bankers are increasingly keen to gain ex-

perience abroad, as indicated by 310

Bank of China branches all over the world.

One of the most recent, opened last May, was in Frankfurt am Main.

dpa/wd

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 July 1987)

## ■ ENERGY

### Debate over electricity as supplier monopoly comes under threat

#### ■ Röhrer Coal Situation

**The monopoly that German power suppliers have had since 1935 might be coming to an end.**

It is likely that European Community provisions will extend competition from 1992 to places that don't know the meaning of the word.

The power utilities will find more is at stake than just the loss of their captive markets.

In the 1990s many agreements on the exclusive supply of electric power to cities and local authorities are due to expire.

A number of councils fancy the idea of running their own power supplies again.

So the utilities are caught in a cleft stick, with European Community law on the one hand (which overrules German law) and a power surplus on the other, prompting a free-for-all for markets.

German suppliers pose the seemingly banal question whether electric power is a product or a service. This may seem pointless but it could have a bearing on the competition debate within the European Community.

Günther Klätte, a director of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE), the leading German power utility

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mean the end of existing certainty that supplies will be available.

Foreign competitors would only serve interesting, i.e. lucrative customers, leaving the local supplier to plug the gaps.

This worry is not unwarranted. France, the uncrowned champion of Europe in generating atomic energy, has serious surplus capacity.

Last year Electricité de France (EdF) exported 33 billion kilowatt-hours; in the 1990s French exports are to be boosted to 70 billion kilowatts, or about one fifth of total German consumption last year.

Many observers feel EdF's prices are almost unbeatable, which is hardly surprising. The French state power corporation pays no dividends, no tax on profits and, unlike German utilities, no levies of one kind or another.

Besides, French nuclear power stations are mass-produced and subject to simplified permit procedures, with the result that they cost one third less to build than nuclear power stations in the Federal Republic.

As a result, atomic energy can be generated at a price that makes German utility executives' hair stand on end.

Against this background German industry is unimpressed by RWE's argument that supplies might not be ensured in the event of free competition and deregulation.

"Large-scale industrial consumers," says RWE's Lippert, "hope the rules of free competition will apply to the power industry, which would mean the end of rigid demarcation agreements."

Underpinning his demand for more competition in the power industry, he refers to the existing grid network: "The grid capacity of transnational high-tension cables is currently 24,700 megawatts, or roughly 30 per cent of the total installed capacity of public-sector power stations in the Federal Republic of Germany."

Günter Hirschfelder, head of Veba's Ruhr power stations division, feels the German coal industry will be hard hit.

#### Minimal

"Power imported from France," he says, "will always be to the immediate detriment of domestic coal. So imports will call long-term agreements (between the German coal and power industries) into question."

Here too the industrial viewpoint differs. "That depends," says a VIK spokesman, "on the sector in which electric power is imported."

"It is likely to mainly supply power-intensive industrial plant that has so far been supplied by brown coal-fired or nuclear power stations."

The Federal Monopolies Commission in Berlin has called a halt to the wider ramifications of the debate.

Its Kurt Markert says: "It is inconceivable that the existing system of exclusive supply areas in force in all European Community countries must be entirely abandoned solely for reasons of Community law."

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 25 July 1987)

### Coal industry blames Bonn for uncertainty

#### Hannoversche Allgemeine

The Bonn government is being urged to make a clear statement on what it sees is the future for the German coal industry.

Rumours are circulating that the Economic Affairs Ministry is thinking of allowing long-term agreements with power utilities to expire in the mid-1990s and running coal production down by well over a third to about 30 million tonnes a year.

The chief executive of Ruhrkohle, Heinrich Horn, who is also head of the German Coalmining Association, said the reports had caused serious anxiety in the Ruhr and other coalfields.

If the Ministry follows its plans to axe subsidies for coal exported to other European Community countries, the current production surplus — six million tonnes a year — will more than double.

Last year coal stocks at the pithead totalled 9.8 million tonnes. Stockpiles are due to increase to at least 11.7 million tonnes by the end of this year despite at least 19, and probably 21, shifts that are not to be worked in 1987.

Ruhrkohle sales were down 9.2 per cent last year to 55 million tonnes and are expected to decline to 51 million

## ■ PHILOSOPHY

## Clarity of expression plus a dose of common sense upsets the academics

The writer, Eberhard Döring, is the author of *Karl R. Popper. Einführung in Leben und Werk*, published by Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, Hamburg 1987, DM26.

Viennese-born epistemologist (epistemology is the theory of knowledge) and philosopher Karl R. Popper, 85, has created controversy in nearly all disciplines and schools of thought.

To this day he meets with an enormous response from almost all sectors of politics interested in maintaining democracy in an "open society."

So it is no exaggeration to see in him the philosopher who has most comprehensively influenced the 20th century.

Because of the width of his influence, controversial was probably only to be expected.

Academic philosophers in particular see his views as somewhat naive, which is hardly surprising since he is strongly guided by common sense, as all his theorems show.

This orientation is what has made him so well-known. Even his opponents can hardly deny that he writes in such an easily understandable manner that many an arts review seems esoteric in comparison.

He may, of course, be criticised as somewhat prematurely destructive in dismissing, on the basis of his own writing style, *larges of any kind in science or politics as intellectual arrogance*.

That would presuppose that complicated problems can generally be simplified without having to accept substantial distortion.

This demand for simplicity of expression hits out particularly hard at dialectics, of which Sir Karl has little short of a personal hatred and which he erroneously interprets as automatic.

It also hits out at theological hermeneutics, which he brands as irrational because it fails to proceed in accordance with his academic standards on falsification.

He sees himself as a post-Kantian advocate of the Enlightenment yet has been accused of tending to rely on typically pre-Kantian Enlightenment views.

Even so, he remains true to his concept, especially as it has enabled him to exert political effect.

With his fundamental outlook he is able to meet half-way the scientific ideal of an external world independent of the subject (and without God), although it seemingly fails to realise that a radical atheism tends to be "to the greater glory of God."

This is because even a belief that no god exists is merely what Kant called a manner of holding something to be true that is better not seen in absolute terms.

Reducing all possibilities of understanding to rationalism is an involuntarily dogmatic aspect of Popper's approach that could be subjected to critical scrutiny in a variety of respects.

It would first, however, be more interesting to outline his main topics, all of which are closely interlinked and make up a largely coherent world view.

The close connection between the life and work of Popper the critical rationalist and tolerant democrat is particularly interesting — and the reason why he never tires of stressing that he owes

his main idea to a biographical experience in late puberty.

Just after leaving school (early, voluntarily and without taking school certificate examinations) he came into contact, as a 17-year-old, with socialist anti-war propaganda.

For a short while he embraced communism, which seemed to him at the time to hold forth the promise of a better world.

The intolerant dogmatism with which this promise was to be kept, over the heads of individuals, then prompted him to take a particularly critical view of all promises of salvation, a view that led, in the final analysis, to the formulation of his philosophical outlook.

This point can, incidentally, be applied with equal measure to civic protest groups, which would do well not to forget that they are neither elected nor can be voted out.

Eliminating errors thus has an internal dimension when it is applied not just within the theoretical framework of science but transposed to socially relevant sectors in which allowing theories (rather than their proponents) to die is of the utmost importance.

That is why Popper's philosophy limits itself to checking the validity of theories and pays no heed to how they originated.

This has been held against him, the argument being that it is somewhat one-sided merely to seek out illogical components of theories that can then be withdrawn from circulation.

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The close connection between the life and work of Popper the critical rationalist and tolerant democrat is particularly interesting — and the reason why he never tires of stressing that he owes

his main idea to a biographical experience in late puberty.

Just after leaving school (early, voluntarily and without taking school certificate examinations) he came into contact, as a 17-year-old, with socialist anti-war propaganda.

For a short while he embraced communism, which seemed to him at the time to hold forth the promise of a better world.

The intolerant dogmatism with which this promise was to be kept, over the heads of individuals, then prompted him to take a particularly critical view of all promises of salvation, a view that led, in the final analysis, to the formulation of his philosophical outlook.

This point can, incidentally, be applied with equal measure to civic protest groups, which would do well not to forget that they are neither elected nor can be voted out.

Eliminating errors thus has an internal dimension when it is applied not just within the theoretical framework of science but transposed to socially relevant sectors in which allowing theories (rather than their proponents) to die is of the utmost importance.

That is why Popper's philosophy limits itself to checking the validity of theories and pays no heed to how they originated.

He may, of course, be criticised as somewhat prematurely destructive in dismissing, on the basis of his own writing style, *larges of any kind in science or politics as intellectual arrogance*.

That would presuppose that complicated problems can generally be simplified without having to accept substantial distortion.

This demand for simplicity of expression hits out particularly hard at dialectics, of which Sir Karl has little short of a personal hatred and which he erroneously interprets as automatic.

It also hits out at theological hermeneutics, which he brands as irrational because it fails to proceed in accordance with his academic standards on falsification.

He sees himself as a post-Kantian advocate of the Enlightenment yet has been accused of tending to rely on typically pre-Kantian Enlightenment views.

Even so, he remains true to his concept, especially as it has enabled him to exert political effect.

With his fundamental outlook he is able to meet half-way the scientific ideal of an external world independent of the subject (and without God), although it seemingly fails to realise that a radical atheism tends to be "to the greater glory of God."

This is because even a belief that no god exists is merely what Kant called a manner of holding something to be true that is better not seen in absolute terms.

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Wars need no longer be waged if use were made of the opportunity to sacrifice nothing but theories, ideologies and world views.

That is easier said than done, of course. In practical politics no-one voluntarily abandons fundamental views and everyone is more inclined to gain acceptance for them by means of force if need be.

A politically more practicable idea of this is that a government can be constitutionally prevented from imposing dictatorial rule by making it fundamentally possible to vote it out of office.

This point can, incidentally, be applied with equal measure to civic protest groups, which would do well not to forget that they are neither elected nor can be voted out.

Helmut Schmidt as Bonn Chancellor on fellow-Social Democrats read not just Karl Marx but also Karl Popper, whom he felt to be one of the most lucid thinkers of the age.

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker took the opportunity, on a state visit to Britain, of visiting

at home.

Political speeches on democratic fundamentals are barely conceivable without a reference to Popper's efforts to maintain the Open Society (the title of his two-volume work written in New Zealand on the eve of the Second World War.)

His latest published book is entitled "In Search of a Better World." It draws a distinction between "concepts for proving the world and promises of a better world that cannot be kept."

He sees himself as a Liberal but does not give preference to any specific political party, preferring to advocate a more Liberal outlook in all parties.

In the Federal Republic of Germany all leading parties refer to him as the thinker who can fairly be said to be the greatest current theorist of democracy even though his normative theory of knowledge cannot entirely be absolved of the suspicion of being dogmatic and anti-dogmatic.

He owes his political acumen at least in part to a lifetime spent in many fields and in many parts of the world.

He left school early to study — officially — philosophy and natural science at the University of Vienna.

He then studied for his university entrance exams the hard way, passed them and first went on to serve an apprenticeship as a carpenter.

He later became a social worker at the newly-founded Institute of Education in Vienna. Later still he took his PhD and taught mathematics and physics.

One might philosophically concede that rational elimination of errors is based on logical criteria, but the discovery of theories can only take place extra-rationally (not irrationally) and in a quasi-artificial manner.

No logic can supply new creations as long as only a deductive approach is adopted.

So if the philosophical sector of genesis and validity were to be dealt with comprehensively, the logic (of research as a critical authority by which to check validity) would need to be joined by an art of cognition by which to investigate the extra-rational sector of the origins of theories.

Such objections must not, however, be allowed to detract from Popper's major contribution to science and politics.

It is, incidentally, an oeuvre for which his name has often been put forward for the Nobel peace prize, to which he would surely be entitled in view of his enormous effect all over the world.

Yet he never held a chair of philosophy despite being awarded over 20 honorary degrees and writing books that have been translated into many languages and are available almost all over the world.

Nearly all heads of state of democratic countries (heads of state subject to re-



Karl Popper . . . hated of dialect

(Photo: AP)

## ■ THE ARTS

## Exhibition shows art the Third Reich banned

### Hannoversche Allgemeine

With considerable ceremony, including a gala opera performance, Adolf Hitler celebrated the dedication of the grandiose *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* in Munich, allegedly the birth of a new concept of the German people, on 18 July 1937.

It was the blackest day in many hundreds of years for German art.

At the same time the Führer announced the "relentless cleansing process" against "the last deleterious elements" of German culture.

Hitler appropriated the national taste to himself and so brought it behind him and made it toe the line. From then on he dictated what taste to have. It was to serve his ends which at this time were already based on war and victory and, what can now be seen, directed to death.

These also included the best that Europe's artists had produced in the period of change to modern art after the turn of the century and were included in German collections, works by Vincent van Gogh, Edvard Munch, Chagall, Pablo Picasso and many others.

The best works from ambitious German artists of this period, from expressionists such as Ernst-Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, Ernst Barlach and the realists from Otto Dix to George Grosz, have now been brought together as a kind of deterrent example and put on display in the "Degenerate Art" exhibition at the Altes Galeriegebäude in Munich's Hofgarten.

Hitler's triumphant mood on 18 July 1937 can be explained by the fact that everything had fallen into his lap until then in his battle against modern art. He himself hardly needed to move a finger. He did not need to dirty his hands.

The dirty work was done by a few helpers and a limited number of fellow-travellers that certainly included many sceptics and a few opponents.

Anti-Semitic and nationalist groups had had their effect on Hitler before and after the First World War. During the Weimar Republic period their strength declined, but during the world economic crisis Alfred Rosenberg and other future important Nazis were skillfully able to channel these powers to their own purposes.

Some people were worried about this but no-one spoke out when after Hitler obtained power in 1933 great artists from Max Beckmann to Oskar Schlemmer were removed from their university teaching posts.

There were few regrets when the first artists, mainly Jewish and politically involved, were sent on the difficult road to emigration and the others had to join the Reich Chamber of the Fine Arts.

An artist could not exhibit unless he or she was a member of this chamber, and later an artist could not obtain materials for painting, drawing and so on if not a member and as a consequence could no longer work.

For a short period the debate over expressionism brought about a relaxation of the regime's iron rule on the arts.

A few national idealists, who were looked upon with favour by Goebbels at



The sort of art that got right up the Führer's nasal passages . . . a viewer at a current exhibition of art the Nazis banned.

(Photo: AP)

still thought abroad that Hitler could be appeased and tamed.

What did the new concept of the German people involve that Hitler propagated on 18 July 1937, and that had already been put into effect at the *Haus der Kunst* exhibition?

It was an image of healthy, toughened, muscular bodies with laughing, optimistic faces. That was formulated by Hitler for the future.

In his judgment of contemporary art Hitler expressed himself more modestly. He praised the "decent cross-section" of the exhibition that would act as valuable and viable humus for future painting geniuses.

In this way he revived pride, hope and loyalty in many painters of conventional stature, painters who in the years before had ardently enough struggled through life.

The truth is that painting took on, in this speech and more so in later speeches, second place after architecture.

From then on Hitler had little more to say for the painting exhibitions mounted annually in the *Haus der Kunst* than condescending, thin-lipped praise.

From then on his interest was devoted to large buildings for the Party and his fame after death.

He bent over architects' drawing boards, architects who worked on gigantic parade grounds, enormous administrative buildings and medieval castles.

Hitler included directives in his speech. He recalled over and over again the pyramids, ancient holy places and the ruined cities of the Mayas. He was occupied with memorials for eternity, that is for his own immortality. He spoke of the year 2000 and beyond.

Hitler's architectural ideas brought closer, even when outwardly concealed, a gigantic cult of the dead, staged for his own ego and decorated with pictures and sculptures of the people.

Today the whole business seems like a bad ghost, but the ghost was real.

This knowledge of this reality from yesteryear is threatened in the variety of the arts that we enjoy and over which one can from time to time get annoyed. That must be prevented.

The arts can act as important seismographs of the state of freedom in our society. It is not only a bad thing for aesthetes if they are wrecked.

Eberhard Döring  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,  
Bonn, 24 July 1987)

Bernhard Häfnermann  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 July 1987)

Continued from page 10  
he was knighted in 1965 by Queen Elizabeth II, since when he has preferred

## ■ THE ENVIRONMENT

## Dispute over how dangerous chemical used in dry cleaning is

Scientists disagree on how dangerous a chemical called perchlorethylene (PER) is. It is also known as tetrachlorethane and is used in dry cleaning. Neither is there agreement on whether changes to the law should be made.

There is a strident debate over whether perchlorethylene, one of a group of chlorinated hydrocarbons widely used in industry to get rid of grease and as an intermediate product for consumer goods, can cause cancer.

It is not known exactly how much finds its way on to the German market, but estimates range from 100,000 to 200,000 tonnes a year.

The Federal Health Agency (BGA), in Berlin, uses US statistics to deduce that roughly half is used by dry cleaners.

Exposure to small quantities for a short time is probably not dangerous. The BGA refers to a low level of acute toxicity. Its inflammatory and caustic effect on the skin is also limited.

As a detergent, PER has the advantage of being non-explosive and virtually non-flammable.

Its chronic toxicity is another matter. In larger quantities over longer periods, exposure can damage the central nervous system, the liver and kidneys.

A dispute is currently in progress on whether perchlorethylene can cause cancer: the BGA has carried out a number of tests in recent months and found PER to accumulate in fatty foodstuffs.

So precautions were taken by applying Paragraph 13 of the 1980 Chemicals

**Süddeutsche Zeitung**

In older housing in the vicinity of dry cleaners heavy concentrations have been found both in the air and in foodstuffs.

The BGA referred to US findings that perchlorethylene caused leukaemia and cancer of the kidney and liver in laboratory animals.

In addition to pure carbon tetrachloride, to use yet another name for the pungent substance, a number of chemical stabilisers used in admixture were either critical or inadequately researched.

On 27 February Dieter Grossklaus,

BGA president, sent an unpublished report on chemical waste to the Environment Ministry in Bonn (and a copy to the Health Ministry).

It outlined findings about various substances that had been checked by the Berlin agency at the Ministry's request.

The report complained that "expert hearings" were seriously delaying examination of the health hazard aspect of consumer protection — it meant perchlorethylene.

Additional difficulties were caused by gaps in knowledge about its toxicological properties and about the quantities marketed.

So precautions were taken by applying Paragraph 13 of the 1980 Chemicals

Act, which provides for graduation and statutory classification of hazardous chemicals.

Herr Grossklaus wrote that a decision was urgently needed. This passage of the covering letter he wrote to Bonn last February specifically referred to PER.

But they point out that this is not the case, since one third of its members represent industry, half the labour medicine institutes represented can be considered pro-industry and the industrial insurance schemes are interested in avoiding claims.

They call for the committee to be manned by representatives of the BGA, the trade unions, environmental bodies and critical research institutes.

The Federal government wants to immediately classify PER as a carcinogen and list it as such by the term of Hazardous Substances Regulation.

Representatives of the BGA have since conferred with Herr Henschler. Further discussions are to be held after the summer recess.

So the BGA suggested in February a number of safety precautions. PER ought, it suggested, to be classified as:

- R 40: "irreversible damage possible"
- R 48: "risk of serious health damage in the event of exposure over a longer period"
- S 24: "avoid skin contact."

The Berlin agency also proposed calling on the Senate Commission for the Examination of Working Materials that Pose a Health Hazard to classify tetrachlorethane as a chemical justifiably suspected of being capable of causing cancer in humans.

It also says consideration should be given in the longer term to whether it should be wholly or partly banned (highly unlikely if less dangerous substitutes are not available).

The Commission is entitled to specify maximum place-of-work concentrations, known as MAK ratings, for dangerous substances.

The present MAK rating for perchlorethylene is 50 parts per million. That, oddly enough, is more than the 30 ppm laid down by the terms of the Atmospheric Protection Act.

The MAK Commission has yet to classify PER as a carcinogen, even though its chairman, Dietrich Henschler, is quoted in the BGA report as having said in 1986 that "after oral exposure powerful genotoxic metabolites (waste substances that damage the genes) have been found in rats' kidneys."

Würzburg toxicologist Henschler has come in for criticism (as on comparable earlier occasions). In a letter dated 1 June, details of which have now been released, he wrote to the BGA advising it to defer a decision on definitely classifying tetrachlorethane as a carcinogen.

He explained that the commission had for two years been trying hard to redefine criteria.

On the basis of earlier criteria, he wrote, the commission would have little option but to classify tetrachlorethane as causing cancer in animals. But it now proposed a new risk category, that of substances known to cause cancer in animals but not yet known to man.

Both nationally and internationally, scientists have so far worked on the universal assumption that for safety's sake any substance found to cause cancer in animals must be considered as encouraging or causing tumours in man.

The procedure now advocated by Herr Henschler is seen by many experts as abandonment of the precautionary principle, especially as the carcinogenic properties of toxins are often hard to

identify in man for statistical and methodical reasons.

The Greens in the Bundestag and Alternative List in Berlin have called on Herr Henschler to make decisions on primarily political grounds.

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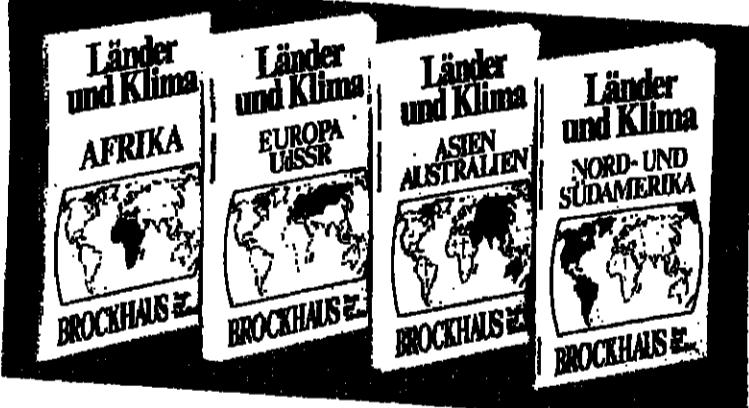
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## Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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I am very interested in the Bundeswehr. The men, who would have to fight for us, would be defending Germany. All well and good, but why can't women and girls also be trained?

The schoolgirl who wrote this is 16. She expressed her wish to join the army in a letter to the Chancellor.

She not only raised the question of equal opportunity, but also expressed the desire to be in close contact with nature.

She wrote: "Sometimes I watch when soldiers are on manoeuvres in the open air, and I wished that I could be there too."

The Soviet leader was felt to be engaged in a serious bid to bring the Soviet Union on to a par with Eastern Europe. That might flatten Eastern Europe but his overtures could prove too impetuous.

What mattered was whether he was prepared, within Comecon and the Warsaw Pact, to establish the more up-to-date and equal relations he envisaged within the Soviet Union and, to some extent, in the West.

Last but not least, the sale of perchlorethylene-polluted food can be banned by the terms of foodstuffs legislation.

Yet a ban would hit the effect, not the cause. It would also only affect food retailers in the vicinity of dry cleaners and not protect private households.

Justin Westhoff

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 25 July 1987)

## FRONTIERS

### Women learn to hit the solar plexus with a stiff whim! wham! wendo!

Sabine made me strong. She said: You can do it if you want to. My alter ego gave me a shove — keep calm, breath deep — crash bang.

The effect was really strong. I smashed a two and a half centimetre thick piece of wood with a hefty blow of my fist.

This was not just a display of strength but a demonstration that wanting to do something comes before being able to do it.

Sabine had nothing to do with her man stuff. She wanted to give us women self-confidence, encourage us, teach us to defend ourselves. Our sex is not as weak as it is made out to be.

Surprisingly, the BGA's Detlev Kayser, head of the chemical assessment department, has said in response to a query that Herr Henschler's arguments had been impressive.

He had said the genotoxicity of perchlorethylene had not been proved

the way in which it caused cancer in animals was not known and the finding could thus not be applied automatically.

They learn how to deal with normal male force, the techniques of shaking off attackers or in case of need knocking some one out.

They learn all the tricks, but mainly the will to self-assertion and self-confidence.

A shock blow to the solar plexus is a preliminary to self-defence.

"Wen-Do," women's way, comes from North America, where the technique, a mixture of karate, judo and jiu-jitsu, has been taught to women for the past 12 years. About eight years ago Canadian instructors brought their know-how to the Federal Republic.

The course is now available at further training and women's centre and in women's holiday courses, but this self-defence is primarily practised enthusiastically in large cities. In Berlin ten per cent of women are Wendo-trained.

Twelve women, that is reason enough for scuffling about for a weekend. Sabine, our instructor, wanted to know exactly why. The answer is anxiety. A recent survey showed that 71 per cent of all women are anxious when they are out alone in the evening.

The police record more than 7,000 cases of rape annually.

It is all very well for the Berlin Senate to say it will order the closure of dry cleaners if they exceed certain PER levels in the foreseeable future, but the fact is that the authorities are not legally entitled to do so, as they themselves admit.

Indoor pollution ceilings by the terms of the Static Emission Act might be more feasible, although checks are easier said than done. Limits are not yet specified, but Erdwin Lahmann of the BGA says the authorities are now considering what levels are advisable.

They would certainly need to be well below the present MAK level because people who live near dry cleaners include risk groups such as pregnant women.

Last but not least, the sale of perchlorethylene-polluted food can be banned by the terms of foodstuffs legislation.

## ■ SOCIETY

## German Moslems try and shake off the clichés

### Kieler Nachrichten

They were German Protestants or Catholics, but they no longer feel at ease with Christianity as it is practised today.

They are more convinced by the Koran than by the Bible.

The head of the central residents' registration office in Hamburg, Manfred Sorg, said that parallel to the trend to leave the churches there was a slight tendency for more Germans to take up Islam.

There is no precise data, because people in this country are not recorded according to religion.

German Moslem Erwin Bauer, 33, editor of the monthly magazine *al-Fudschr* (The Dawn), published by the Islamic Centre in Hamburg, said that in the Hamburg region alone 200 people were converted to Islam last year.

He estimated that there are about 10,000 German Moslems in the Federal Republic to which could be added about 40,000 German women, married to foreign Moslems.

Wearing a Bavarian jacket Bauer said he could see no way of disposing of the cliché of a Moslem with turban and baggy trousers.

He said: "I have no difficulties linking the positive sides of German culture with Islam, so long as they are not in contradiction of Islam."

Bauer converted from the Protestant Church because it did not provide him with any spiritual belief. He added: "Religion and politics in West Germany are widely separated from one another, which would be impossible in the Islamic world."

Bauer is called by his co-religionists Ali. He himself says that he learned about Islam "at an emotional, internal level."

He was dissatisfied as a teenager and thought about the meaning of life. Later he studied computer science.

"But this was not what could fulfill me in the long term," he said. So he discontinued his studies and went to Pakistan.

There he came in contact with Moslems, who took him on a pilgrimage to a holy shrine where he, like others, kissed the entrance doorway. He said: "I did not want to do so at first, but I was overwhelmed by it all. I understood that the saints lived still, because their spiritual thoughts still had influence." He said: "This new level of communication meant for me my admission into Islam." He studied the Koran for a year at the Iranian holy city of Qum and learned Arabic and Persian before

he returned to Hamburg. Twenty-seven-year-old Sabine Schmidt, a language student from Hamburg, came to Islam by a very different path. She said: "My way was intellectual. I got to know some Moslems at the university. They were Persians, Arabs and Turks, whose human behaviour impressed me."

But Sabine Schmidt only concerned herself deeply when she met her husband, a Moslem from the Lebanon.

She said: "I read many books about Islam. This brought me into intellectual conflict with the Bible and discussions with Moslems."

After two years of intensive study she decided to become a Moslem.

She said that after she had been converted she had to come to terms with a headscarf and other clothing ordained by Islam. She said: "But I dared to take the step."

She and other women students regularly met. They believed that "it was no longer necessary to appeal to men and that woman was not looked upon as a sex object, but as an equal member of society."

When she appeared in the university with a headscarf for the first time she was surrounded by five men.

She said: "They mocked and abused me. They were the only bad experience I have had."

She has also had pleasant experiences. She said: "Moslem women speak to me on the street and they are delighted when they discover that I am German. Or I get a smile in unfriendly shopping precincts."

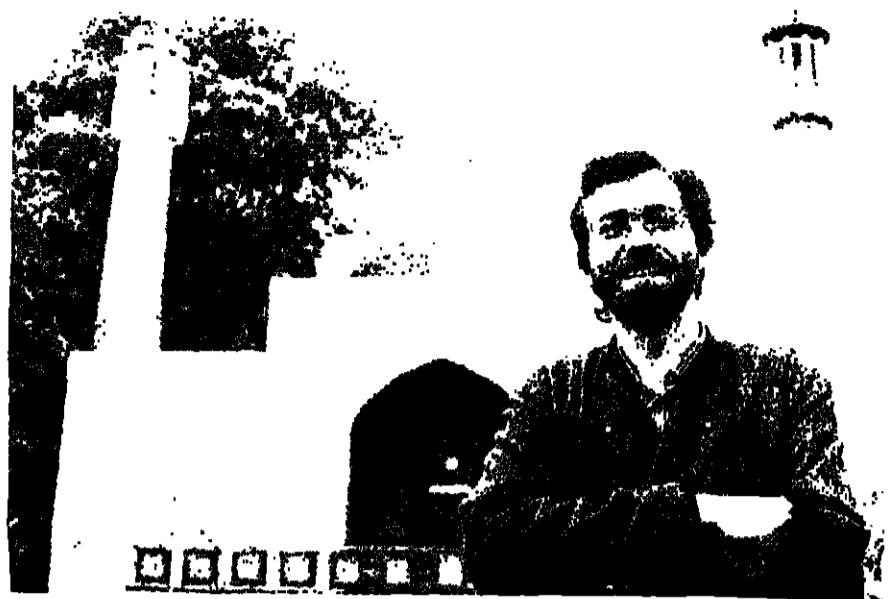
Many people take her for a Turkish woman and express astonishment that she can speak German so well.

Sabine Schmidt is accepted by most of her friends and defended from her critics. Others retreat from her.

She said: "Going over to Islam was a dramatic thing for my Catholic family. But she was not disconcerted because she can practise "pure Islam" in the Federal Republic without any limitations to her personal freedom.

She said: "I would find this difficult in many countries."

*Fouad Hamdan/dpa*  
(Kieler Nachrichten, 18 July 1987)



Erwin Bauer found a new level of communication in Islam. Hamburg mosque

(Photo: dpa)

## Buddhism makes a bid for official recognition

Not for the first time the active participation of German Buddhists at the 22nd Protestant Church Conference in Frankfurt focused public attention on Buddhism in this country.

Buddhism is increasingly being introduced into West German life, as it is in the whole of Europe.

Most Buddhist ideas, concepts, schools of thought and trends, that, over the course of 2,500 years have been developed in many Asian countries, are to be found in the 100 communities that exist among West Germany's Buddhists, as they based on the canon of Pali, or Zen or Jodo-Shinshu, or friends of the teaching of Buddha, a group into which many Buddhist trends come together.

Buddhists do not proselytise. But the Buddhistische Religionsgemeinschaft (BRG) and the affiliated Deutsche Buddhistische Union (DBU), that claims to have been especially invited to Frankfurt, represent West German Buddhists, and they have the opportunity, where possible they have used to the full, of intensifying inter-religious dialogue.

Early this year these two associations established a central organisation in Munich, a visible sign of genuine consensus.

The "Buddhist Council" speaks for West German Buddhists to the world at large and has published the first issue of a "Newspaper for Buddhism," entitled "Lotusblätter." One day this could perhaps be a forum for German-language Buddhism. It is planned that the publication should appear quarterly. The publishers of this quarterly, BRG and DBU, could make an important contribution to the integration of Buddhism into West German life. Another important step forward was the establishment of the "Buddhistisches Wohlfahrtswerk," the Buddhist welfare organisation, in November. The DBU is

the older of the two German Buddhist organisations. It is an umbrella organisation of Buddhist charitable organisations that emerged in 1958 from the Deutsches Buddhistisches Gesellschaft (DBG), founded in 1955.

The BRG on the other hand is a community of practising Buddhists, it was set up in Hamburg on 7 September 1985 by delegates from 22 communities, representing 72 Buddhist groups. In the future it is to be "organisationally and financially" strengthened and consolidated.

Most Buddhist organisations will with the BRG and it plans to develop to a "stable organisation acting with the confidence of all German Buddhist organisations."

The BRG now aims to be recognised by the state as a "public corporation or body."

Important preconditions for this are that the BRG has a long-term future and an extensive membership, a common Buddhist profession of faith and a constitution.

There are 15 members representing the various regions of Germany on the Buddhist Council that controls the BRG. They simultaneously represent various Buddhist teachings such as Theravada, Zen, the Tibetan school, Jodo Shinshu, the seminaries and institutions as well as communities such as the Aranya Maitreya Mandala order and the "Westlicher Buddhistischen Orden."

West German Buddhists have given their attention to the question of inter-religion discussions for some time. At the Second International Conference of the Buddhist Union of Europe (BUE) in Turin in September 1984 the "Turin Programme" was drawn up. This formulated seven tasks for the future and they were recommended to the various national organisations as guidelines.

One recommendation proposed that "constructive, unbiased discussion should be intensified with other religious groups, particularly the Christian churches."

In open discussion the differences in standpoint would be made clear, but also "the linking elements."

The author of the Turin Programme was the Plochingen businessman Karl Schmid, head of the Buddhist community in Stuttgart and now president of the DBU. His Buddhist name is Amoghavajra. For a long time from

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Buddhists meditate in West Berlin.

(Photo: dpa)

## ■ HORIZONS

## Lawyer fights for haemophiliacs laid low by Aids-infected coagulants



Karl-Hermann Schulte-Hillen has short, grey hair and a moustache and wears rimless spectacles. He looks like many people's image of the American TV lawyer, Perry Mason.

And like Perry Mason, Schulte-Hillen is an assiduous and meticulous compiler of the facts of the matter at hand; in this case it is haemophilia and Aids.

Schulte-Hillen reckons that the German insurance business is on the point of facing some of the biggest claims in its history, about 500 million marks at a conservative estimate and possibly as high as a billion.

There are an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 haemophiliacs in West Germany, most of whom need regular injections of a blood-clotting substance to prevent or halt internal and external bleeding. This substance is made from donated human blood.

When last year the connection between the blood coagulant and Aids became overwhelming, two haemophiliac associations in the country hired the services of Herr Schulte-Hillen, a lawyer who had represented thalidomide victims.

The laws governing medical drugs was tightened up as a result of the thalidomide affair and, since 1978, manufacturers have had to take responsibility for their product, regardless of whether negligence can be demonstrated or not.

A limit of up to 200 million marks per

product or 500,000 marks per victim was established.

But the legislators left one fatal flaw:

provision in the law was made only for financial loss, although in the thalidomide case, the damage was not financial.

In fact, both parties reached agreement,

without the law, on damages for losses that weren't financial.

Also, under the 1978 law, damages must be fought for in civil law, where negligence by the manufacturer must be demonstrated.

Until recently, the insurers of blood-coagulant product manufacturers had been rejecting claims for damages. The manager of the Colonial-Versicherung said on television that Aids victims had no right to damages ("Schmerzensgeld, or 'pain money'") because, he said, "the question must be asked, to put it in non-technical language, where are these pains?"

That was the signal for the lawyer. He had to establish negligence in order to, if necessary, claim for damages in a court of law.

In the first half of this year, he assiduously built up his dossier about haemophiliacs and Aids. And, he says, the results are an eye opener.

On 24 March 1983, when a haemophiliac in West Germany had Aids, the American authorities laid down guidelines for makers of blood-plasma products, to avoid the risk of passing on Aids.

It was decided at the annual conference of the DBU in May 1984 in Stuttgart to strive for state recognition of Buddhism as a public corporation or body, and so obtain legal and social equality with the Christian churches.

The BRG now aims to be recognised by the state as a "public corporation or body."

Important preconditions for this are that the BRG has a long-term future and an extensive membership, a common Buddhist profession of faith and a constitution.

As soon as he was elected DBU president in 1984 he made approaches to the Baden-Württemberg cultural affairs ministry since the granting of public corporation or body status is a responsibility of this department of government.

Early in the discussions it was obvious that the DBU, as the umbrella organisation for Buddhist groups could not be granted the status of public corporation or body. This could only be granted to an association of individuals, united by a common constitution and a single creed.

"Basically we appreciate the establishment of your religious community as a considerable endeavour and welcome contribution to the religious landscape of the Federal Republic."

*Walter Schmidt*  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 26 July 1987)

He quotes from an excerpt from a letter from the Baden-Württemberg cultural affairs ministry dated 26 October 1986.

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start of the illness had been infected by Aids.

On 14 November 1983, federal health authorities held another discussion on the subject in Berlin. The minutes record that the authority had not thought about withdrawing blood products not treated with the heat process, despite its availability.

Instead, warnings about the possibility of infections were to be included in each packet of coagulant.

For Schulte-Hillen, here was evidence of possible negligent behaviour. If serious illnesses such as hepatitis or Aids could be transmitted through the coagulant, why was distribution continued?

But changes to the regulations were not brought into force for another nine months, on 8 June 1984. The patient was to be made aware that the coagulant "in rare cases" could infect him or her with Aids. But even then, withdrawal of untreated blood products did not happen. A month later, the four haemophiliacs became the first in Germany to get Aids.

On 31 December 1984, the drug companies voluntarily halted distribution of non-treated products. Since October 1985, the sterilisation process has been compulsory.

In the meantime, a Berlin lawyer has sued the Federal health authorities with causing actual bodily harm by acting too late. The case has still pending.

The Bonn Health Minister, Rita Süssmuth, denies the charge and says the authorities acted in time in accordance with the knowledge available to them. Their actions stood comparison with what had been done anywhere in the world. There were no foundations for the Berlin lawyer's allegations.

She said that as early as 1983, the sterilisation treatment was being used to kill the Aids virus. Schulte-Hillen replies that use of the treatment was neither laid down by law nor in general use by the coagulant manufacturers.

Since April this year, the drug companies have been pushing their insurers to settle claims. Support for them has also come from the health ministries in Bonn and the Länder.

Schulte-Hillen says the lowest award to a haemophiliac with the Aids virus but where the illness had not manifested itself should be 100,000 marks. He is threatening the drug industry with legal action to get it.

He intends completing a survey of haemophiliacs and extrapolate the probable extent of damages from that information.

*Bernd Knebel*  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 July 1987)

But this proposal met with heavy resistance from doctors and care staff.

Professor Windorfer can't understand this. He says that especially in the field of health, the attitude is strongly against the isolation of HIV-infected people.

Attitudes in this case are hardening. The man has now been told that his pay is being withheld.

Meanwhile, the city has given assurances that it wants to keep the man employed in the health service. The man himself doesn't know what is going on.

He says "they probably want to keep on going until I get so nervous and fed up that I throw in the towel myself. That would be the easiest way to get rid of the embarrassment."

He is afraid that his refusal to work on the switchboard will be taken as a general refusal to work, with the result that he would be liable to be sacked.

*Eberhard Löblich*  
(Nürbinger Nachrichten, 20 July 1987)